I. As to practicability, there is no room for heaitation or doubt. The Massachusetts Western, the Erie, the Pennsylvania, and the Baltimore and Obio, have each encountered difficulties as formidable as any to be overcome by a Pacific Railroad this side of the Sierra Nevada. Were the Railroad simply to follow the principal emigrant trail up the Platte and down the Snake and Columbia to Oregon, or south-westwardly from the South Pass to the foot of the Sierra, it would encounter no seri-

ous obstacle. II. The dearth of Timber on the Plains is the chief difficulty to be overcome; and this, with the prevalence of deep snows in and about the South Pass, will probably send the Road considerably north er south of that famous and facile Pass. We presume the shortest, most feasible, and best wooded route for a railroad from the Mississippi to the Pasific is one from Minnesota to Puget Sound, leaving the Rocky Mountains, save some low spurs, on the south, and encountering less formidable snows than those of the North Platte, South Pass, and Green River. Another pretty well timbered d direct route, with but a moderate elevation at the pass of the Rocky Mountains, strikes westward from Dubuque to the Yellow Stone, follows one of the sources of that stream into and through the Rocky Mountains, and thence down a similar stream to the Columbia, and so through Oregon to Astoria. By taking this route, the timber of the Rocky Mountains could be cheaply rafted or floated to every part of the track on either side at which timher is naturally deficient. The routes which turn the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada by the south are necessarily longer than those above indieated (theearth's circumference being greater toward the Equator than near the Pole), traverse in good part a parched and sterile desert, and must encounter serious obstacles in the dearth of water and in crossing the Rio Del Norte and Colorado. They would, however, rarely or never be formidably obstructed by snow. In our judgment, however, the preferable, though

not the easiest, route for a Pacific Road traverses the valleys of the Kansas and its Smoky Hill fork, arossing thence to the more northerly sources of the Arkansas, and passing with one of them through the Rocky Mountains, not far from the South Park, thence winding down some tributary to the Colorado, thence up a western fork or valley and down the Timpanagos or some such stream into Utah, and through that Territory on or near Capt, Simpson's new road to the valley of the Carson, Truckee, or whatever stream should be found to proffer the least difficult way across the Sierra Nevada, to San Francisco. A railroad on this route would at once command a large and lucrative traffic from the Kanses Gold Region, from Utah, and from the newly-discovered but rich and growing Gold Region of Carson Valley or Western Utah-soon, we trust, to be the Territory of Nevada. Thousands have recently been drawn to Carson Valley by the fame of these Mines; and, the fact being established that Gold, Silver, and other valuable metals are found in Carson Valley, it is at least strongly probable that they will be found elsewhere along the eastern base of the Sierra Nevada. A railroad on this route would have an immediate and large local traffic, both in passengers and goods, fro." California to Carson Valley, from Missouri and Kans "s to the Rocky Mountain Gold Region, and from each to troops. Utah. Its Mails, too, would be heavier and far far more beneficent, than if conveyed by any other route. We judge, therefore, that on this route the Railroad is most likely to be built, unless future developments of Mineral Wealth north or south of it should change the whole aspect of affairs.

III. And now as to cost and the ways and means. This road cannot be built cheaply; for provisions and all the necessaries of life must rule high along its line, and most of the laborers will have to be earried thither. Yet it is but fair to consider that many of the heaviest items of expense on most other railroads-Land and Land Damages, Timber, Stone, &c,-will here cost nothing but the labor of preparing them for this use. Then the rock-cutting will, in the average, be light, and the bridging still highter. For much of the distance, \$5,000 per mile will grade and bridge a double track in the very best manner. Doubles there are miles that Would cost \$100,000; but these are comparatively few; while the Colorado is the only formidable stream to be crossed between the Missouri and the Sacramento. And, as the road would necessarily be commenced at each end and pushed toward the center, it would have a considerable traffic on the very first hundred miles that should be completed, and a large one on the first five hundred. Were it to be finished sext Avril so far as Carson Valley from the West and "Pike's Peak" from the East, we firmly believe that those two sections would pay expenses and interest on coat forthwith. If so, what might not be hoped from the completed road? Again: It is to be considered that, by building thus in sections, each portion, as finished, would be used to forward provisions, rails, timber, &c., for the next. If Wheat be worth \$5 per bushel today at Deaver, it by no means follows that it would cost half se much with a railroad from the Missouri completed nearly or quite to that point. We estimate that a Railroad from the Missonri

at Kansas City, Wyandot, Leavenworth, Atchison or St. Joseph, to San Francisco, must be nearly or quite 2,000 miles long, and that it would cost, with a double track and fully equipped, \$75,000 per mile, or \$150,000,000. A sanguine engineer would probably reduce this to \$50,000 per mile, or \$100,000,000; but, as most works cost more than they were expected to, it is as well to begin with large figures, so as not to be disappointed. More than a third of this road would build itself-that is, much of it as lies in California or within the boundaries assigned herself by the new State of Kausas would readily be built by private enterprise if the connecting link were certain to be perfected in du season. It seems advisable, however, to have a single road, under one direction, from the Missouri'o the Pacific, and thus make the certain profits of the extremities contribute toward the construction and support of the less promising But supposing the cost of a Pacific Railroad to

be \$150,000,000, or even \$100,000,000, how is so large an amount to be procured !

We answer-Not wholly by individual subscripion or voluntarily associated enterprise. The amount is too vast; the enterprise too formidable; the returns too remote and uncertain. In the pres ent depression of Railroad property and interests, an attempt to raise such a sum for any such purpees would be madness. One railroad to the Pa-

cific would probably pay; but what assurance could an association of private citizens have that, having devoted their means and energies to the construction of such a road, it would not be rivaled and its value half destroyed by a simila work on some other route? No Hundred Millions can be obtained for such an undertaking without assurance of Government aid.

But neither will it answer to commit the Government unqualifiedly to the construction of such a work. Its cost, in the hands of Federal functionaries, would be incalculable; it would be an infinite source of jobbing and partisan corruption; it would never be finished; and its net revenues would amount to nothing. And then the question of location-the conflict of rival interests-would alone suffice to prevent the construction of the work by the Federal Government.

But let that Government simply resolve that the Pacific Road shall be built-let Congress enact that scaled proposals for its construction shall be invited, and that whichever responsible company or corporation shall offer adequate security for that construction, to be completed within ten years, on the lowest terms, shall have public aid, provided the amount required do not exceed Fifty Millions of Dollars, and the work will be done, certainly for Fifty Millions bonus, probably for much less. The Government on its part should concede to the company a mile in width, according to the section lines, of the Public Lands on either side of the Road as built, with the right to take Timber, Stone and Earth from any Public Lands without charge; and should require of said Company that it carry a daily through mail each way at the price paid other Roads for conveying Mails on first-class routes; and should moreover stipulate for the conveyance at all times of Soldiers, Arms, Munitions, Provisions, &c., for the public service, at the lowest rates, with a right to the exclusive possession and use of the Road whenever a National exigency shall seem to require it. The Covernment should leave the choice of route entirely to the Company, only stipulating that it shall connect the navigable waters of the Mississippi with those of the Pacific Ocean, and that it shall be constructed wholly through our own territory. Payment of the National bonus to be made, say one-twentieth so soon as one-tenth of the road shall have been finished and approved, and at this rate until one-third of the road shall have been built, when the remainder of one-fourth of the bonus shall be paid; when half the road shall have been built, the payment of bonus shall be increased to one-third; when the work is three-fourths done, what remains of five-eighths of the bonus shall be paid; and when the work is done and accepted, all that remains unpaid of the bonus shall be handed over to those who will have so nobly earned it.

By adopting this plan, the rivalries of routes will be made to work for instead of working against the construction of the road. Strenuous efforts will be made by the friends of each to put themselves in position to bid low enough to secure the location; and the lowest rate at which the work can safely be undertaken will unquestionably be bid. The road will be the property of the Company constructing it, subject only to the rights of use stipulated and paid for by the Government. And, even were it to cost the latter a bonus of fully Fifty Millions, we feel certain that every farthing of that large sum will have been reim bursed to the Treasury within five years after the completion of the work in the proceeds of Land Sales, in increased Postages, and in duties on goods imported, sold, and consumed because of this Railroad-not to speak of the annual saving of Millions in the cost of transporting and supplying

Men and brethren! let us resolve to have a Railroad to the Pacific-to have it soon. It will add more to the strength and wealth of our country than would the acquisition of a dozen Cubas.

FRENCH AND ENGLISH NAVIES.

During the hundred years that intervened from the accession of William III. down to the commencement of the French Revolution-a period of constant rivalry, and, for a considerable part of the time, of actual warfare between France and England-the navies of the two powers remained pretty equally balanced. At the same time, Spain and Holland, and even Denmark and Sweden, had powerful fleets; so that during all this period the pretension of Grent Britain to be mistress of the seas was very questionable. During our Revolutionary war, the combined French and Spanish fleets were more than a match for the English At the commencement of the French Revolutionary war, Britain had 115 ships-of-the-line, and France 76; but the latter were of a superior class, carried more men, and mounted heavier guns. The progress of the war gave France the benefit of the Dutch and Spanish fleets; but the English had the advantage in practical seamanship, and in the senius and daring, if not the courage, of her naval comnewgers; and after the battle of Trafalgar she might be truly said to have become mistress of the occan. Bonaparte still went on building ships, and so did the English. By 1812, the British line-ofbattle ships were 245, the frigates 272, smaller vessels 314, a total of 831-the largest number of ships that Britain ever possessed. France had at the same time 113 line-of-battle ships and 72 frigates, but only now and then a solitary frigate showed itself on the ocean. French maritime commerce having been totally destroyed, it was impossible to man a fleet able to contend with the English.

After the war, the building of vessels stopped upon both sides, while the old ships rapidly disappeared. In 1820, England had 146 line-of-battle ships, 164 frigates, and 145 smaller vessels; in all 455-little more than half the number eight years before. France had 58 line-of-battle ships, 39 frigates, and 38 smaller vessels; in all, 135. For the next thirty years, this same process, so far as England was concerned, continued to go on. In 1850, she had but 86 line-of-battle ships, 104 frigates, and 79 smaller vessels-in all, 269-while the French counted 45 line-of-battle ships, 56 frigates, and 37 smaller vessels; in all, 188.

Meanwhile, a change in naval construction had been commenced, by which the old maritime system has been wholly revolutionized. The successful application of steam to the commercial marine suggested its application to ships of war, and paddlewheel war steamers were introduced. Nextf ollowed the screw-propeller, and from 1847, or rather from from 1852, the reconstruction of the navy rapidly proceeded, by converting into propellers the old sail liners. Since that period, the French navy has gained rapidly on the English, both in numbers and efficiency. Her navy, which in 1850 was in liners and frigates scarcely more than half that of Enland, is now, at least, equal to it. It is estimated by the French Commission of Naval Officers that they shall have by next year a steam fleet of 40 line-

of-battle ships, 55 frigates, and 26 transports, while the effective force of the British navy amounts to only 49 liners and 43 frigates.

It should be observed, however, that, though inferior in numbers, the steam fleets of to-day are vastly stronger, and more expensive too, than the sailing fleets of fifty years ago. For nine, twelve, and thirty-two pounders, sixty-eight and eighty-four pounders have been substituted. It used to be estimated thatto build a ship of war would cost \$5,000 a gun. But so much heavier is the present armanent, requiring a corresponding increase in strength, that they now cost three times that. The annual expense of their maintenance, including the cost of fuel, has increased in a still greater ratio. As to fuel, England has a decided advantage over France, which, in the event of war between the countries, would be obliged to draw her supplies of coal from Belgium.

The gradual and unavoidable decay of ships, when built, is another heavy item of expense. At the end of fifteen years, very heavy expenses are necessary, and a ship is worn out at thirty. So enormous is this cost that, between 1852 and 1858, the English have spent nearly a hundred millions of

collars in building and rebuilding ships. Notwithstanding the great changes already made, others are still going on. The increased and now tremendous power of the new artillery has naturally suggested the necessity of some additional defenses of ships, and the plan has been adopted of of sheathing them with iron. It has been found that a shell falls to pieces against a four-and-a-half inch plate: so do cast-iron balls, though a wrought iron sixty-eight pound ball will sometimes pierce the plating. The French Government are building twenty iron-plated ships, with the scantling of threedeckers armed with 36 guns each, throwing a hollow percussion shot of eighty pounds. Meanwhile, the English are constructing a gigantic steam ram, so called, a sort of revival, on a larger scale, of Fulton's experiment for our navy. This structure is to be in itself impenetrable, to be armed with thirty-six hundred pounders, and to have engines of such power as to enable it to destroy ships by running into them. Ships, however, are of little consequence without

men. The old-fashioned English practice of pressing has been abandoned, while the maritime conscription in use in France, which extends over some 90,000 men, seems to give that country the advantage in this particular. To supply the place of the pressgang, various measures have been adopted. The internal condition of the navy has been greatly improved, the pay has been raised, and, when men are suddenly needed, a bounty is offered. Instead of entering the men for a particular ship, and putting it out of commission at the end of three years and scattering the crew-the old practice which we have borrowed-there is now a practice of continuous service with increased pay and privileges, which has been found to answer exceedingly well. There are also on shore, in Government pay, 3,400 first-rate seamen belonging to the coast-guard, and connected with them a body of 6,000 volunteers, who in an emergency would be sufficient to man a dozen line-of-battle ships. The principle of a subsidiary or militia force, to be employed in connection with the navy, has also been lately introduced. A number of men, not exceeding 30,000, are to be enrolled for a period of five years, and are to be called out for twenty-eight days' training every year, receiving twenty-four dollars a year each, beside pay according to their sailing. At the end of the five years, they can retire or reënlist, in which latter case, afterten years' service, they will be entitled to a pension. In the event of war, they will be liable to serve for three years. It is expected that in this way men will be brought into a connection and sympathy with the naval service which will break down the wall of separation between the mercantile and naval marines, and will, at a small outlay, in time of peace, keep a large body of men at the service of the Government in the event of a war.

AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

"Agriculture is the most beautiful of all arts. " but it is also the most difficult," says Lavergne in his admirable work on the Rura England. In more homely phrase, said one of the best farmers in Connecticut to us the other day, "I've done suthin in my life at most all sorts of " business, and I thought I knew suthin about most of 'em, too; but about farming I feel as if I don't know nothing, and am getting to know less every day." Both remarks indicate the truth in the case. There is no pursuit under the sun which, to be carried on in its perfection, requires such minute and varied knowledge as Agriculture. We are glad to see an appreciation of this fact in the scheme on foot for a month of agricultural instruction at New-Haven this Winter. The idea at the be tom of this enterprise-viz., small contributions from large numbers-is a good one. Twenty practical men, each contributing his three or four ectures, will pile up an enormous aggregate of agricultural knowledge and enthusiasm for the benefit of their hearers, and that with but little cost to themselves. We say enthusiasm as well as knowledge; for the inspiration which comes from personal contact is quite as important in all education as the knowledge itself. John Johnston telling, face to face, his story of 210,000 drain-tile and doubled farm products resulting therefrom, or Dr. Grant the still more marvelous one of his rocky island in the Hudson producing a President's salary every year in grapes and vines, is worth volumes of ity reports on the subject.

While we are waiting for great Agricultural Institutions, and endowed Professorships, and learned Professors, why not use the material we possess in our practical men, as this plan proposes? Diffusion a the great point with us at present, and not creation. And is there not, after all, a question whether, for the purpose of instruction in practical Agriculture and Horticulture, this material at hand s not quite as efficient as that which a more costly system would furnish? At all events, this scheme offers to the farmers of the country, in respect both to quality and variety of information, advantages which have never before been placed within their reach, and we trust they will by many be improved.

THE EDIE AND NORTH-EAST RAILOAD'S ARBITRARY RATES—THE RIGHT TO LEVY THIS TAX TO BE TESTED.

We announced some time since, that the Erie and North-East Railroad Company, on and after December 1, proposed to exact an arbitrary rate or toll upon all through freights passing over its line. This tax was imposed to reimburse the road for moneys spent in imposed to reimburse the road for moneys spent in maintaining the line during the Erie war, some two or three years since. The Erie Railroad gave notice to its customers and to its Western connections, that it would protect the bills of lading of all property consigned to it against this tax, and the Rosd paid the Erie and North-East Road its toil, but under protest. We now understand that Messers. Osborne & Bianchard, of the New-York and Erie Railroad, have been obtaining the necessary affidavis and documents and obtaining the necessory affidavits and documents, and bay gone on to New-York where it is proposed to test the right of the Erie and North-East Road to levy this arbitrary tax. The matter is, we are informed, to be brought up in New-York to-day.

[Cladausti Gasette, Dec. 31.

THE NEXT PRESIDENCY.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune. SIR: In selecting their candidate for the next Presidency, the Republican party, if they act wisely, will give especial heed to two considerations-first, the fitness of their candidate, and, secondly, the chances of electing him.

I. Of these considerations, we place first in that which is first in importance. No man should be nominated for the exalted and responsible office by any party-and least of all by the Republican party-who is not eminently worthy of it, and who has not also preced himself to be so by distinguished services. It is time for all to turn with disgust from the low artifice of nominating interior or undistinguished and untried men because of their supposed availability. We have already lowered too much the standard of public worth and the consequence is, our Governments, both State and National, are administered in all their departments, too often, by men unqualified, and who do not possess the confid nce or respect of the people. Public authority is thereby degraded and weakened to a lamentable extent. The people feel that it is so, and demand a reformation. It has ceased to be expedient even to neminate a merely available candidate, if we may use the paradox.

Nor is it snough that the candidates should be fit for e Presidency-they should have proced their fitness by services to enument and so well known that the people may of their own knowledge know them to be eminently qualified. A candidate for our Chief Magistracy ought aiways to be a man who has had a public cacer-in which his princ ples, and his fidelity to them, his intelligence and his wisdom as an American states man, have been subjected to the crucible of severe trial. Many men are virtuous enough in untried situations; but who can tell how they will stand the trials and temptations of high, responsible, difficult positions?

The Hop. WILLIAM L. DATTON of New-Jersey, the Republican candidate for Vice-President in 1856, comes up fully to the standard we have endeavored to describe. During his long term in the United States Senate, the principles and the firmness of our public men, in and out of that body, were reverely tried. We do not say how many of them failed in that ordeal; but the country knows that Judge Dayton did not. Then it was that our Government began to diverge from the old conservative Washingtonian and Jeffersonian doctrines of Freedom. Then it was that Mr. Calboun's pernicious sectionalism began to secuce our public men out of the good old paths. Judge Dayton was one of the few who gave way not for a moment to these insidious and poiscnous false doctrines-who would heither tolerate nor compromise with them in the least, but conden ped them as fraught with all those dangerons consequences which the country has since so hitterly experienced. There was no Senator more active. more conspicens, more effective than Judge Dayton among the defenders of the old policy and the opponents of the rew. How abundantly has time justified the wisdom of his counsels! We have lately looked over the record of his course in the Senate, and have been struck again and again by the prophetic accuracy with which he warned the Senate against those evilwhich their new sectional schemes were destined to bring, and have since brought upon the country. He was a Republican by anticipation, simply because he was thoroughly imbued with the principles of the Constitution, and fixed in his determination to adhere to the policy of the fathers of the Republic.

II. Judge Dayton, besides his fitness for the Presidency, is a candidate whom the Republican party may confidently hope to elect. It will not be sufficient for that party to confine their views simply to the avowed Republican States. These States do not cast enough votes to elect a President. For this reason they failed in 1856; and they will be defeated again in 1860, unless they receive aid from some of the States which then voted for Buchanan. If the Republican candidate and receive the votes of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey he will be elected. Can the Republicans carry these two States? They have never done it yet by their own unarrieted strength; but they have done it again and again by the aid of many who voted for Fillmore in 1856. Whenever the Opposition to the Democratic party is thoroughly united in these two States, it triumphs. It would have triumphed in 1856 if it had been united, and Mr. Buchanan would have been defeated.

Can this Opposition party be united in 1860 upon a single candidate for the Presidency ! It is the belief of leading men of both sections of the Opposition that they can unite on Judge Dayton. In New-Jerrey, both sections are already uniting on him. Separated in 1856, not so much by differences about principles as by susvicions of and antipathies to each other's candidates for he Presidency, their real congruity of principle has since drawn them together, and they will keep together if a candidate be nominated for the Presidency in whom they have confidence. They do have confidence in Judge Dayton, and already they are cooper ating in favor of his nomination.

In Pennsylvania, there is a similar state of things. The Opposition party there is composed of similar materials, and can combine upon the same candidate. There is every reason to believe that Judge Dayton could carry both these States. His principles, antecedents character, and relations are such as fit him eminently to combine in his support the elements of opposition to the Democratic party in both. Let the Republieun Convention nominate him for President, and the united Opposition of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey will support him. With the aid of these two States the Republican phalanx of 1856 can elect bim. On this Republican phalanx we must, of course, chiefly depend. We point out to them how they may achieve success. Theirs will be the triumph, and theirs, in a great degree, the credit of it.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune. SIR: Aware of the extensive circulation of THE TRIBUNE in the Northern and North-Western States, I am prompted by the natural solicitude which, in commen with a large majority of the conservative Opposi tion at the South, I feel for the perpetuity of our glo rious Unicu, to address a few words of earnest warning to the Union-loving and law-abiding people of the North. I have an abiding trust in the patriotism, loyalty to the Constitution, and sense of justice of the masses of the people of the North as well as of the South, and am convinced that the intelligent and conservative men of the Free States unite with their Southern brethern of the Opposition party in condemn ing that disastrous agitation of the Slavery question ing that disastrous sgitation of the Slavery question which had its inception in corrupt and mischievous Democratic legislation, and has been fostered by the duplicity and imbecility of Democratic Administrations. Surely the time has fully come when good men of all parties, and of all sections, should unite in a patricitic and vigorous effort to rebuke and punish the authors of this mischief, and to restore tranquillity to the public mind that has been so fearfully agreated by interested and designing demagnorus. (and Lossibly interested and designing demagogues. Can I possibly mistake the sentiment of the vast majority of the Northern people when I attribute to them a fixed and steady purpose to respect and uphold the Constitution rights of the Southern States, and to resist any schen for interference with the domestic institutions of those states! Do I underrate their patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution, when I ascert that they deprecate he agitation of mere sectional issues, and are prepared o name with the National men of the South upon the to make with the National men of the South upon the bread and common platform of the Constitution to rebuke the mismanagement, extravagance, corruption, and profligacy which are the glaring characteristics of Democratic misrule, and which threaten to undermine and destrey our common heritage? If, in my conception of their principles and objects, I do them but simple justice, where is the difficulty in the way of a union of the conservative elements of Northern and Southern opposition in the approaching Presidential canvass? Many of you have declared your willingness to afford Many of you have declared your willingness to afford to us of the South a safe and practical guaranty of your devotion to the Union and to the Constitutional rights of the States, by assisting us to nominate and elect a conservative, National-Union man—one who, in the discharge of the duties which pertain to the office of Practical act upon the principles annunced in the discharge of the duties which pertain to the office of President, will act upon the principles announced long ago by the Hon. John M. Botta—whose language, by the way, has been frequently ascribed to other states nen—of knowing "no North, no South, no East, "no West—nothing but our choic country." In this position they will be cordially and enthusiastically sustained by hundreds of thousands of their compatriots of the South, and by consistently adhering to it, we will

have the proud satisfaction of rescuing our beloved country from the perils that now encompass it on every side. But it is evident that the first and indepensation condition of this union must be an agreement that the united conservative opposition shall be neither a Pro-Sievery nor an Anti-Shavery, but a Constitutional party. It is, therefore, with unaffected concern that I have seen the nomination of a distinguished Southern gentleman urged by the correspondents of several leading Kepublican papers on the ground of his sympathy with a novement which has for its object the abolition of Savery in his own State of Missouri, and eventually in Kentucky, Maryland, and Virginia. Does not every intelligent man see at a glance that the nomination of a intell gent man see at a glance that the nomination of a Scuthern man for such reasons, and with such objects, would be as certainly a rectional nomination as would the selection of Sumner or Giddings; and that the inevitable result would be the formation of a third party, and the probable issue of the contest the perpetuation of the misrule of Democracy! Do the conservative men of the North desire to aid in bringing about this list named consummation? Do they desire to endanger the safety of the Union by physing into the hands of the mischevous Democratic demagogues and agitators at the South, whose hold upon the confidence of their deduced tollowers is ner estimated by sectional axis. would be as certainly a sectional nomination as would their deluded followers is percetuated by sectional agi-tation? Are they sincere in their opposition to the re-vival of the African slave trade, and do they really and heartily sympathize with the conservative masses at heartily sympathine with the conservative masses at the South, who regard with horror and detestation the efforts to reopen this piratical and inhuman traffic! If so, let them beware of the election of another Democratic Fresident, who, for the sake of propitating the favor of the advocates of this traffic at the extreme South, will, while be professes to denounce the crime, wink at its perpetration. We of the South who reverence the Constitution and love the Union better than our lives or individual fortunes, are determined that neither shall fall through our default. We offer you in the person of John M. Bouta a candidate who has no stain of sectionalism upon his garment; a man who throughout a long and distinguished career has been among the true the truest, and among the bold the believest champion of the Constitution; who by his firm and mainly resistance to the repeal of the Missouri Comprense, when resistance to that repeal was political martyrdom at the S uth, as well as by his whole course in regard to all exciting questions of a sectional character, has ever exhibited his devotion to the whole contents, and thus emmently entitled himself to the country, and thus emmently entitled himself to the confidence of National men everywhere. What better assurance can any conservative man, North or South, assurance can any conservative man, North or South, want of the nationality of Mr. Botts than his own declaration in his "African-church speech," in 18567 which is in these words: "I will resort torall proper "means to protect and defend Slavery where it exists, "but I will neither assist in, nor encourage any attempt to force it upon a reluctant people any where; and still less will I justify the use of the military "force of the country to establish it in any of the Terratrier." Upon this basis of compromise we of the Southern Opposition are willing to unite with the conservative Opposition of the North. I profess to know something of the feelings and sentiments of the masses of the people of my native State; and you of the North may test assured that the nomination of John M. Botts will be hailed with an enthussam, and be supported with a zeal, which that of no other man can elicit. Interested politicians here, as elsewhere, may oppose it. terested politicians here, as elsewhere, may oppose it, but the people desire and would support it with a hearty good will, and that will bring back to our remembrance the days of '40 and '44.

Sprs. Kirkmond, Va., Nov. 29, 1859.

To the Editor of The N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The great struggle which is to decide the des tinies of this nation for another period of four years, and the fate probably of millions yet unborn, is soon to be decided, and it behooves all persons who have at heart the welfare of this great country to reflect upon the men and principles which they intend to adopt and carry forward into the contest. All men who are at all conversant with the politics

of the times must admit that the Presidential contest is narrowed down to a few States, owing to the peculiar manner in which the parties are made up and the issues former'.

The question of Squatter Sovereignty is one that has distracted the Democratic party, and the legislation of the country for the last few years has tended in its favor and does much to overthrow the old rules, and establish it as one of the fundamental rules of the Governnent; yet there are many prominent minds who cannot yeld to it their assent, and who hold that Slavery in the Territories must be controlled by the

will of Congress where the wisdom of the nation is meenbled and where its discussion is productive of good instead of evil, instead of naving that question eft to a few agitators in a new Territory where it is beyond the control of the conservative element of the e untry, and who look to a change in the administratien to have legislation upon this subject brought back to the old and well-established rule.

We haut discussing the various questions upon which the Opposition of the North will base their platform, there are two cardinal principles upon which I presome we all agree—that is the reopening of the slavetrade-and whether we at the North will submit to Southern dictation, aggression, and encounter slanderone abuse by the men and press of the South, of North-ern men and the press of the North, and a disposition to nake the North service to the South.

The Balls of Congress had hardly been opened and the numbers seated, before a firebrand was hurled at Northern men by the members from the South. The North is able to stand all this, for it has a constant ten-pency to strengthen Republican sentiment and knit more firmly the Opposition party than any other course that could be pursued by the South; and if the feelings of the North should be at all alienated against the South, the blame lies at their doors and not at ours. But fortunately both for the North and South, there

Ent fortunately both for the North and South, there is a conservative element in both political parties which must be reached, and which will undoubtedly control the next Presidential contest, and in the selection of the candidate that element must be consulted.

As New-Jers, y will undoubtedly be one of the few States which will turn the scale in the coming election, and as the same conservative element which pervades Pennsylvania prevails in New-Jersey, it is very important that special attention should be given to a canportant that special attention should be given to a can portant that special attention should be given to a can-didate that would be likely to carry these two States. In New-Jersey we look to William L. Darron as that man. He is a conservative man, living in a con-servative State—a State looked upon with more favor at the South than any of the Free States—a State where very many of the prominent men of the South have been educated—and where Southern families are now sending their sons to be educated at Princeton, and as far North as it will do to send them if they wish to have them hold any position upon their return home.

home.

Gov. Seward is looked upon with disfavor in New-Jerrey, and as being out of the question, and Judge Dittolas is looked upon with no more favor. In fact, the Democratic party is divided between the Administration and the Douglas men, but the Administration largely in the ascendency, and if Judge Douglas should be nominated at Charleston, he will be unable to carry New-Jersey. In fact, the leading Democrats of the State look upon Judge Douglas's nomination as out of the question.

ich as out of the question. Bekerkeringe undoubtedly leads the Administration BRECKISKINGE undoubtedly leads the Administration party in this State, and is looked upon with more favor by the Denocrais than any other.

At the last election, Gen. Wright was running as the Administration candidate for Governor, and was defeated. The General charges his defeat mainly to Judge & yeron, of Sussex County, who is looked upon as a Douglas Democrat. In the Gabernatorial election of 185.6, Sussex County gave Alexander, Democrat, for Governor, 1,500 majority, and in the present election the same county gave Wright only about 600 majority; and the Counties of Warren and Hunterdon were shovery mach disaffected, and Wright charging his defeat mainly to the leader of the Douglas Democrats, and the Administration or Pre-Slavery Democrats being largely in the ascendancy, puts New-Jersey in a doubt ful position for the Democrats; and Judge Dayton being in a position to unite all the elements of the Opposition more thoroughly than any other man, must lead the public men of the Opposition to look upon his nomsition more thoroughly than any other man, must lead the public men of the Opposition to look upon his nommation with much favor, as no man is more likely to carry New-Jersey and Pennsylvania than he is.

The idea that Barks, of Missouri, is looked upon with favor in New-Jersey, has been more strongly put than the facts would justify. The people of New-Jersey have hardly thought of him as a candidate, but both parties of the Opposition look upon Judge Dayton with great favor, and will undoubtedly press him amongly in the Convention.

arrongly in the Convention.

A correspondence of The N. Y. Times, from Louisville, Ky., bringing forward Batts and Batt as likely vine, Ky., bringing loward BALLAS intery to unite the Opposition and carry the States of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri, I should think should be taken with some grains of allowance, as no man in the Opposition at the North has any idea of carrying these States with any man who would be at all acceptable to the North. Neither Bates, Bell, or Critical Control of the North States and ter den can carry Northern States enough to make him President.

President.

It is far more important that a candidate should be looked to who would be likely to carry New-York, Illinois, l'ennsylvania, and New-Jersey.

In traveling through the Western part of the State of New-York a short time since, Seward was discussed with much favor, and evidently stands much more prominent in the Western than the Eastern part of the State; but he undoubtedly has not the strength out of the State that Judge Dayton has, or many other prom-

have the proud satisfaction of rescuing our beloved

inent men at the North that might be named, although I think that the cruade at the South made against him is turning public feeling at the North greatly in his favor, and if it should be carried much further, he will be looked upon as a persecuted man, and thus turn the feeling of the people greatly in his favor.

Gov. Wisk and his comrades are using the Harper's Ferry massacre to alienate the South against the North and make it as a unit upon him to secure his election. And thus a matter that should have been left exclusively with the courts to settle at a proper time, is wantenly made a State and National theme for the purpose of creating public favor and public prejudice. If "Old Brown" and his comrades had been quietly put in prison, time given for his wounds to heal, and passion allowed to subside into judgment, in the misds of the Charlestown people, and proper counsel precured, with time to make preparation for his defense, Brown's trial would not have attracted more than a reasonable smount of public attention; and if he had been hanged under such a conviction, the public, both North and South, would have been satisfied.

As it has been, Brown's trial upon a cot in the court room, is probably without a parellel in the history of the country; and instead of his being tried by the sound juagment of the people, he has been tried by a panic-stricken community, where passion appears to have been the ruling element.

The conservative element of the North undoubtedly has as great an abhorrence for the deeds of Old Brown had forfeited his life to the State, which he himself never denied), but it is the manner of doing it. They cannot well see why Brown should be so summarily dispatched, while Hunter, who acknowledges that he was guilty of deliberate murder by taking the life of Thompson as a retaliation for the life of his relative, should go unpunished, and the act receive official indorsement in Virginia. It is this that will strengthen Northern feeling—that will show the South that there is a North, and an

VIRGINIA AND MASSACHUSETTS.

INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE Letter from Mrs. Mason of Va. to L. Maria Child.

ALTO, King George's Co., Va., Nov. 11, 1852.

Do you read your Bible, Mrs. Child? If you do. read there " Woe unto you, hypocrites," and take to yourself with two-fold damnation that terrible sentence; for, rest assured, in the day of judgment it shall be mere tolerable for those thus scathed by the awful deunnciation of the Son of God, than for you. You would soothe with sisterly and motherly care the hoary-headed murderer of Harper's Ferry! A man whose aim and intention was to incite the horrors of a servile war-to condemn women of your own race, ere death closed their eyes on their sufferings from violence and outrage, to see their husbands and fathers murdered; their children butchered, the ground strewed with the brains of their babes. The antecedents of

Brown's band prove them to have been the off-

scourings of the earth; and what would have been

our fate had they found as many sympathisers in Vir-

ginia as they seem to have in Massachusetts?

Now, compare yourself with those your "sympathy" would devote to such ruthless rain, and my, on that " word of honor, which never has been broken," would you stand by the bedside of an old negro, dying of a hopeless disease, to alleviate his sufferings as far as human aid could? Have you ever watched the last, lingering illness of a consumptive, to soothe, as far as in you lay, the inevitable fate? Do you soften the pargs of maternity in those around you by all the care and comfort you can give? Do you grieve with those near you, even though their sorrows resulted from their own misconduct? Did you ever sit up until the "wee hours" to complete a dress for a motherless child, that she might appear on Christmas day in a new one, along with her more fortunate comfar as human aid could ! Have you ever watched the up until the "wee hours" to complete a dress for a metherless child, that she might appear on Christmas day in a new one, along with her more fortunate comparions? We do these and more for our servants, and why? Because we endeavor to do our duty in that state of life it has pleased God to place us. In His revealed word we read our duties to them—theirs to us are there also—"Not only to the good and gentle, but to the froward."—(Peter, ii: 18.) Go thou and do likewise, and keep away from Charlestown. If the stories read in the public prints be true, of the sufferings of the poor of the North, you need not go far for objects of charity. "Thou hypocrite! take first the beam out of thine own eye, then shalt thou see clearly to puil the mote out of thy neighbor's." But if, indeed, you do lack objects of sympathy near you, go to Jefferson County, to the family of George Turner, a neble, true-learted man, whose devotion to his friend (Col. Washington) causing him to risk his life, was that down like a dog. Or to that of old Beckham, whose grief at the murder of his negro subordinate made him nee liessly expose himself to the aim of the seeassin Brown. And when you can equal in deeds of love and charity to those around you, what is shown by nine-tenths of the Virginia plantations, then by your "sympathy" whet the knives for our throats and kindle the torch that fires our homes. You reverence Brown for his clemency to his prisoners! Prisoners! and how taken? Unsuspecting workmen, going to their daily duties; unarmed gentlemen, taken from their beds at the dead hour of the night, by six men coubly and trebly armed. Suppose he had hurt a hair of their heads, do you think one of the bund of desperadoes would have left the engine-house alive? And did not be know that his treatment of them was his

did not he know that his treatment of them was his only hope of life then, or of clemency afterward? Of course he did. The United States troops could not have prevented him from being torn limb from limb.

I will add, in conclusion, no Southerner ought, after your letter to Gov. Wise and to Brown, to read a pure of your composition, or to town a magazine. line of your composition, or to touch a magazine which bears your name in its list of contributors; and in this we hope for the "sympathy," at least of those at the North who deserve the name of woman.

WAYLAND, Mass., Dec. 17, 1859. Prolonged abrence from home has prevented my answering your letter so soon as I intended. I have no disposition to retort upon you the "two-fold damnation," to which you consign me. On the contrary, I sincerely wish you well, both in this world and th next. If the anathema proved a safety-valve to your own boiling spirit, it did some good to you, while it fell barmless upon me. Fortunately for all of us, the Heavenly Father rules His universe by laws, which the passions or the prejudices of mortals have no power

As for John Brown, his reputation may be safely trus ed to the impartial pen of History; and his mo tives will be righteously judged by Him who knoweth the secrets of all hearts. Men, however great they may be, are of small consequence in comparison with principles; and the principle for which John Brown died is the question at issue between us.

You refer me to the Bible, from which you quote the favorite text of slave-holders;

"Servants, be subject to your masters with all fear; not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward."—I Peter, ii: 16. Abolitionists also have favorite texts, to some of which I would call your attention:

which I would call your attention:

"Remember those that are in bonds, as bound with them."—
Heb. xiii: 3.

"Hide the outcasts. Betray not him that wandereth. Let ine outcasts dwell with thee. Be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."—Isc. xvi is, 4.

"Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which is caped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, where it liketh him best. Thou shalt not oppress him."—Deut., xxiii: 15, 16.

"Other the month for the distribution of the shall distribute the month for the face of the fa

aziii: 15, 16.

"Open thy mouth for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction. Open thy mouth, judge right onely, and plead the cause of the poor and needy."—Prov., zzzi

9.
"Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and show my people their transgression, and the house of Israel their

I would especially commend to slave-holders the following portions of that volume, wherein you say God

has revealed the duty of masters:
"Massers, give unto your servants that which is just and
equal; knowing that ye also have a Master in Heaven."—Col.,

"Assers, give into your servant that measure."—Col., iv. 1.

"Neither be ye called masters; for one is your master, even Christ; and ell ye are brethren."—Mat., xxiii: 8. 10.

"Whatscever ye would that men should do unto you, do yo even so unto them."—Matt., viii: 12.

"Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break werey yoke."—Isa, lviii: 6.

"I bey lave given a boy for a harlot, and sold a girl for wine, that they might diuli."—Joel, iii: 3.

"He that oppress the poor, reproacheth his Maker."—Prov., xiiv: 31.

"Rob not the poor, because he is poor; neither oppress the afflicted. For the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."—Frov., xxii: 22-23.

"Were unto him that useth his neighbor's service without wager, and giveth him not for his work."—Jer, xxii: 13.

"Let him, that stele, steal no more, but rather let him labor, werking with his hands."—Eph, iv: 78.

"We canto them that decree unrighteous decrees and that write prievousness, which they have preacribed; to turn saids the needy from judgment, and to take away the right from the poor, that widows may be their prey, and that they may rob the fatheriess."—Isa, Z. i. 2.

"If I did despise the cause of my man-cervant, or of my mid-cervant."